

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional)

FY-82 Approval of Operational Activity PDDYNAMIC

FROM: C

C/IAD/SAG/SOI

EXTENSION

1073

NO.

DATE

3 March 1982

TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)

DATE

RECEIVED

FORWARDED

OFFICER'S INITIALS

COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)

1.		8	9	[]	<p>Excellent ops with expanded press to include useful operational work involving other Soviet activities + minority groups.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">[]</p> <p style="text-align: right;">DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3828 NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT DATE 2007</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Daws 11-13: I think you should also review these. [] 13 to 15: You not all that enthusiastic about this program.</p>
DC/IAD/SAG		17			
2.					
3.				[]	
DC/IAD/SAG	9 MAR 1982				
4.				[]	
5. IAD/B&F		16 MAR 82		[]	
C/PRMB		12 MAR 82		[]	
6.					
7.				[]	
IAD/SAG/PP		15	16		
8.					
9.				[]	
DC/IAD	16 MAR 1981	18			
10.					
11.				[]	
C/IAD	1 MAR 1982				
12. Ed Ferguson		22 MAR 82		[]	
C/SE/OPS		25 MAR			
13. C/EPDS, 2D32, Hqs.			4/4	[]	
14. C/SBS				[]	
15. C/IAD/SAG/SOI					
3D0119, Hqs.					

13 JUN 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director for Operations

FROM : []
Chief, Evaluation & Programs Design Staff

SUBJECT : Renewal of OPACT PDDYNAMIC

1. PDDYNAMIC supports a Ukranian exile group headquartered in New York and the group's printing and publishing facility in Munich. The goal of this operation is to publish and infiltrate into the U.S.S.R. literature aimed at keeping alive the Ukranian nationalistic spirit and support the various Ukranian groups who oppose Soviet policy. However, any direct impact on Soviet policy or the Soviet political system cannot be demonstrated. This organization is responsive to Agency direction and almost totally dependent upon the Agency subsidy. During FY 81, PDDYNAMIC published seven new books. The group claims that approximately 17,500 items of their literature were infiltrated into the Soviet Union. This estimate is based on a compilation of items distributed to Soviet Ukranian citizens travelling in the West, items hand carried by travellers to the Soviet Union, and literature mailed directly to addresses in the Ukraine.

2. The FY 81 approval dated 23 May 1981 included the caveat that an Admin Plan be prepared by 1 July 1981. The CA Staff did not meet this deadline for preparation. The Admin Plan was not drafted until February 1982 and still has not been approved. EPDS will review the entire Soviet/Eastern European Covert Activity program. Pending completion of this review, EPDS concurs in the approval of this OPACT.

[]
CL BY: []
REVW : 27May02
DRV : D9c.1

CRYPTONYM

OPERATIONAL ACTIVITY ACTION

PDDYNAMICS

	TYPE OF ACTION	F I / C	CA	OTHER	
	NEW OPACT APPROVAL	DIVISION International Activities		OBJECTIVE	
	AMENDMENT NO.	FIELD STATION		TARGET COUNTRY	
	X RENEWAL FY 1982	BRANCH IAD/CAS/SOI		DESK	
	EXTENSION	CASE OFFICER []		DATE	
	TERMINATION	ROOM NO. 3D0119	BUILDING Hqs.	TELL EXT. 9452 7818	RED BLACK
		INTENDED SOLELY FOR COLLECTION PER SEC 662 OF FOR. ASSIST. ACT		NOT INTENDED SOLELY FOR COLLECTION PER SEC 662 OF FOR. ASSIST. ACT	

NOTE: ATTACH COPY OF DCI CERTIFICATION OF COMPLIANCE WITH SEC 662 OF FOR. ASSIST. ACT WHERE ACTIVITY IS NOT INTENDED FOR COLLECTION

CONCURRENCES OF DIVISIONS

ORGANIZATIONAL ELEMENT	TYPED NAME (and Signature)	DATES		MEMO ATTACHED	
		IN	OUT	YES	NO
C/IAD/SAG/SOI	[] JL	4 Mar	8 Mar 82		✓
DC/IAD/SAG	[] JL	8 Mar	9 Mar 82		✓
C/SAG	[] JL	3-782	3-782		✓
C/PRMB IAD/B&F	[] JL	11 MAR 82	12 MAR 82		✓
PPB	[] JL	8 Mar 82			✓
DC/IAD	[] JL	18 Mar			✓
C/IAD	[] JL	18 Mar			✓

CONCURRENCES OF OTHER COMPONENTS

(Type in Organizational Element and Name Below Only when Concurrence Obtained by Originating Element.)	DATE		MEMO ATTACHED	
	IN	OUT	YES	NO
C/EPDS		6/3/82	✓	
C/SE/OPS		25 Mar 82		✓

APPROVAL

APPROVING AUTHORITY (Title & Signature)	PERIOD	AMT THIS ACTION	FY	TOTAL FUNDS AUTHORIZATION
	FROM 1 Oct 81	TO 30 Sept 82	[]	1982 \$ [] 19 []
ADDO	FOR DDO USE ONLY		DATE	
	EXEMPT FROM P/S REVIEW	COMPARTMENTED P/S REVIEW	3/6/82	2 Mar 82

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MEMORANDUM FOR: Associate Deputy Director for Operations

SUBJECT: FY 1982 Renewal of Activity PDDYNAMIC

PURPOSE

1. PDDYNAMIC is the operational activity under which a controlled subsidy supports the Ukrainian Liberation Council (ZP/UHVR) and more directly its publishing and operational element, Prolog Research Corporation, located in New York. An affiliate in Munich, the Ukrainian Society for Studies Abroad, publishes a monthly political-literary magazine Suchasnist (Contemporary Times), books, pamphlets and leaflets (primarily in Ukrainian but occasionally in Russian) for infiltration and clandestine distribution into the Soviet Ukraine, or for passing to official Soviet representatives or travelers abroad. The main purpose of the group's activities and publications are designed to provide intellectual and moral support to those Ukrainian oppositional groups who seek social and economic moderation of the Soviet political system and who encourage liberalizing trends among various strata of the Ukrainian population who oppose the repressive Soviet policy of enforced Russification. This activity is in furtherance of DDO Objective T.

2. The PDDYNAMIC activity has been favorably reviewed by the Special Coordination Committee (SCC) since 1977 and was most recently reviewed by the SCC on 28 July 1980 in connection with the annual SCC review of covert action and sensitive collection operations as required by E.O. 12036.

3. This activity is in compliance with the provisions of Section 662 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, in that it is covered by a Presidential Finding dated 7 June 1978 and has been reported to the appropriate Congressional committees.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

4. In FY 81, an estimated total of 17,500 items of PDDYNAMIC-produced literature were infiltrated into the Soviet Union including 6,000 copies of the journal Suchasnist; 5,000 issues of the letter-sized Information Bulletin; 4,500 books;

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 DECL REVW ON 3Mar02
DERIVED FROM D9c.1

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SUBJECT: FY 1982 Renewal of Activity PDDYNAMIC

1,000 editions of their new bulletin entitled The Ukrainian Worker and assorted pamphlets and booklets published by Prolog. Distribution methods include the following: hand carry by travellers to the Ukraine; mailing from Eastern Europe; mailing from the West and direct passage to Soviet Ukrainians travelling in the West. A major accomplishment of the Activity has been to distribute miniaturized versions of their publications into the target area.

5. Prolog has published some ten new works in FY 1981 covering a broad range of political, social, cultural and historical topics. These were written both by Ukrainian authors unable to publish their works internally and by noted Ukrainian writers and dissidents living abroad. Important works included Stop This Mockery of Justice, a collection of samizdat documents regarding the case of Lev Lukyanenko, a prominent Ukrainian dissident; a Ukrainian translation of Leonid Plyushch's History's Carnival; Workers Strikes in Poland, a collection of documents translated from Polish into Ukrainian describing recent events in Poland; Anatol Kaminsky's Which Orientation?, a collection of articles dealing with Ukrainian political philosophy and Pogrom in Ukraine, a collection of samizdat documents dealing with the dissident trials of 1972 in Ukraine. Other works included Myroslav Prokop's Ukraine and Moscow's Ukrainian Policy, an outline of Moscow's foreign policy toward Ukraine during World War II by Prolog's former head; and The Restless Autumn, by Ivan Smolii, a novel based upon the author's experiences during the Ukrainian partisan army's struggle in Western Ukraine in 1943. In addition, the Activity put out a Russian language work entitled Emel', a collection of samizdat documents describing the plight of the Crimean Tatars in the USSR.

6. Operating through members and sympathizers, the Activity's organization continued a comprehensive legal traveller program to various areas of Ukraine both to infiltrate literature and maintain internal contacts. This program enabled Prolog to cultivate links with Ukrainian dissidents, obtain a wide variety of samizdat material, and gather information on political, socio-economic and cultural conditions in the Republic. In addition, a major effort by these travellers was to obtain information from Ukrainian residents concerning the "spillover" effects of Poland on Ukraine. This information together with other Prolog reporting, was provided to SE Division reports officers and resulted in the dissemination of four intelligence reports.

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SUBJECT: FY 1982 Renewal of Activity PDDYNAMIC

7. Spearheaded by PDDYNAMIC/57, the Activity also expanded its debriefing program involving Western travellers to Ukraine, as well as visitors and "third-wave" emigres from the UKSSR and Poland. These debriefings, which took place in the US, Canada, Western Europe and in Israel, provided valuable data on such questions as the nationalities problem in the USSR, the state of the economy in Ukraine, recent popular reactions to events in Afghanistan and Poland, as well as valuable information concerning the emergent workers movement, including recent news of strike activity, originating on Ukrainian soil. The Activity also conducted a series of debriefings with several Ukrainian emigre travellers to Poland, who disclosed new information concerning Solidarity's attitude toward the Ukrainian community in Poland and about the current status of Polish-Ukrainian relations in general.

8. In FY 81, the Prolog group also increased their research on and contacts with labor representatives in Ukraine. As a result of this effort, Prolog produced a new publication entitled The Ukrainian Worker which focuses on workers' dissent in Ukraine and elsewhere in the USSR. Aimed directly at Ukrainian workers, the bulletin is published twice yearly and mailed to selected targets. The group also published a number of articles in Suchasnist dealing with working conditions in the Ukrainian SSR, including an analysis of the nascent workers movement in the USSR. Finally, using a Soviet-style cover, the group reproduced some 1,000 copies of a Suchasnist article on workers strikes in the Soviet Union for distribution into the Ukrainian SSR.

9. One of the organization's major accomplishments during the reporting period was to develop new contacts in Poland among Ukrainians living in Poland as well as with native Polish opposition groups. The Prolog group published several articles calling for increased Ukrainian-Polish cooperation and these have found a positive response in such Polish dissident publications as Kultura, Spotkania and Nowa. As a result of these efforts, arrangements were made with two Polish publishers to begin producing works by several Ukrainian authors. In addition, the organization has established several new channels of distribution into Poland which have contacts with Ukrainian groups in Western Ukraine. They have sent large numbers of their journal Suchasnist, as well as reprinted works on the Ukrainian partisan movement in World War II, into Ukraine via Poland, mainly via Ukrainian contacts residing on the Polish-Ukrainian border, as well as numerous items in Ukrainian and Polish aimed at the Ukrainian audience residing in Poland. Finally, Prolog

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SUBJECT: FY 1982 Renewal of Activity PDDYNAMIC

devoted an entire issue of Suchasnist to Polish affairs, which included interviews with leading Polish dissidents and contained documents and Ukrainian translations of Polish samizdat. Though martial law in Poland has made these efforts much more difficult, Prolog continues working closely with Solidarity representatives outside Poland.

10. The Prolog group has significantly increased its contacts with Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian dissident circles and other nationality groups abroad, as well as with several East European organizations. By strengthening contacts with emigre groups such as the Russians, Lithuanians, Czechs, Armenians, Georgians and Crimean Tatars, Prolog insured that Ukrainian samizdat literature, as well as Prolog publications on the nationality issue, would be translated into Russian and other indigenous languages and circulated throughout the Soviet bloc. This effort also included the distribution of literature, primarily history books, into Armenia, Lithuania and Soviet Central Asia. In addition, the Prolog group expanded contacts with several anti-Soviet Jewish dissident groups abroad, including Israel, and helped promote closer Ukrainian-Jewish cooperation by publishing a number of articles in Suchasnist by well-known Jewish dissident authors.

11. Finally, a major accomplishment of the Prolog group has been to establish contacts with PRC groups in Washington and elsewhere and thus lay the groundwork for the possibility of closer cooperation between Prolog and the Chinese. Spearheaded by PDDYNAMIC/57, this effort resulted in: a) several meetings and contacts with PRC representatives in the USA; b) an invitation extended by PRC officials to PDDYNAMIC/57 to accompany exiled Ukrainian dissident General Grigorenko to the PRC for the purpose of giving lectures on Soviet nationality problems (the visit was from 22 October to 14 November 1981); c) the possibility of three areas of cooperation between Prolog and Beijing, namely, increasing the flow of Prolog-produced books to the PRC, raising the level of awareness about Soviet nationality issues in Chinese perceptions, and finally, promoting cultural exchanges between Chinese scholars and Prolog-trained researchers.

EFFECTIVENESS

12. The effectiveness of the Prolog publication and distribution program is attested to by recent emigres and travellers to the Soviet Union as well as by noted Ukrainian and Russian dissidents. Of the latter, for example, both Lev Kopelev,

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SUBJECT: FY 1982 Renewal of Activity PDDYNAMIC

the noted Russian writer and translator now living in West Germany, and Mrs. Andrei Sakharov (via several notes written to PDDYNAMIC/57) praised Prolog publications, especially in terms of its reporting and impact on Soviet nationality issues. In addition, Ukrainian dissidents Vyacheslav Chornovil and Ivan Svitlychnyy reported that Suchasnist and other Prolog publications are held in high esteem by a wide segment of the Ukrainian reading public and by dissident and non-dissident literary circles alike. In a recent interview with Prolog, Volodymyr Malenkovych, a former member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in Kiev, stated that Prolog publications are well regarded by Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian dissident groups. Similarly, it has been reported that the Ukrainian community in Poland is extremely positive toward Prolog publications and programs. One report, for example, mentions that Prolog books are seen as being "of a high intellectual level, more democratic and in tune with present day reality." Similar views have also been expressed by leading members of the Polish opposition groups and by leading figures within Solidarity. In addition, there has been a continued campaign in the Soviet press directed against the "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists" in general and the Prolog organization in particular by such Soviet organs as Vsesvit, Rabochaya Gazeta, Vil'na Ukrayina, Tashkent's Lenin Bayraghi, as well as Kul'tura i Zhittya, Visti z Ukrayini, and Vitchyzna. In FY 81, there were at least 20 major press attacks against Suchasnist and Prolog books, all attempting to link the Prolog group with Western intelligence or denigrate the organization's publishing activities and its leaders. That the Soviet campaign has not been successful can be seen by the fact that there has been an increased demand recently for Prolog-produced books in Poland and Ukraine, that Prolog's articles and publications continue to be reprinted and reproduced in the target areas and that its popularity has begun to filter down into the working class level.

PROBLEMS

13. Two problems face the Prolog group: first, because Prolog personnel have been maintained at salary costs below the minimum level, they are finding it difficult to recruit suitable individuals to succeed outgoing personnel or to hire new candidates for mid-level positions. We believe, however, that the planned increases in the PDDYNAMIC FY 1982 and FY 1983 budgets [] and [] respectively) will alleviate this problem by enabling Prolog to offer salaries to its own personnel and to potential candidates at a more competitive and realistic level. Second, in view of recent changes in the Prolog leadership (i.e., the retirement of PDDYNAMIC/17, Prolog's president; the amicable removal from office of PDDYNAMIC/29;

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SECRET

SUBJECT: FY 1982 Renewal of Activity PDDYNAMIC

Prolog's vice-president, as a result of a vote taken by the organization's Board of Directors; the election of PDDYNAMIC/57 as Prolog's new president), the organization is currently undergoing an internal re-examination aimed at improving Prolog's programs and activities, shaping new policies in line with changing socio-economic and cultural trends in the USSR and seeking additional qualified candidates in conjunction with Prolog's new orientation and philosophy. Given the professionalism and dynamism of the new Prolog leadership, spearheaded by PDDYNAMIC/57 and PDDYNAMIC/64, the organization's new vice-president, we believe that the productivity of the Prolog activity and its operational, publishing and distribution activities will be significantly improved in pursuit of our common objectives.

PLANS

14. To improve contacts with the Ukrainian working class and other strata, the Prolog group plans to initiate a number of new approaches including: expanding their publication and mailing program to include more material geared to working class targets in the Ukraine and elsewhere; translating the most pertinent documents from the Polish experience for distribution to the Ukrainian working audience; publishing more material in their journal Suchasnist concerned with working class problems, socio-economic questions and examples of working class dissent in the USSR and Eastern Europe; concentrating on emergent human rights, religious and national awakening of non-Russian nationalities and focus on enforced russification and producing more material educating the Ukrainian target audience about events in Poland and Afghanistan in conjunction with Soviet expansionist themes. In addition, the Activity plans to enlarge its distribution effort by also targetting collective farmers, white collar workers in service industries and party and government personnel in the Ukraine. This effort will also include a large mailing program to Ukrainian institutions, including educational facilities, newspaper offices, publishing houses, libraries, trade union committees, etc.

15. PDDYNAMIC/57 plans to travel to Europe during the coming year to continue the Prolog program of exploiting regular sources, debriefing recent arrivals from the Soviet bloc and overseeing Prolog facilities in Munich. In addition to focusing on Munich as an operational base, PDDYNAMIC/57 also plans to establish a small-scale Prolog entity in Paris for the purpose of acting as an information and media placement center concerned with dissident and nationality affairs. In addition, the Prolog group plans to

SECRET

SUBJECT: FY 1982 Renewal of Activity PDDYNAMIC

provide various Soviet nationality groups, including the Baltic, Byelorussian, Crimean Tatar, Armenian and Georgian, with increased operational support and with help in expanding their programs of contact operations and publication and distribution of materials in their native languages. Finally, the Prolog group plans to increase their debriefing program in Europe by hiring a number of "freelancers" for the purpose of debriefing Ukrainian emigres from Poland and the USSR temporarily residing in the major emigration centers throughout Europe.

16. In light of recent events in Poland, the Prolog group plans to initiate several activities aimed at cultivating Ukrainian-Polish cooperation, as well as increasing contacts with Ukrainians residing in Poland. As a result of recent contacts with a Ukrainian student group in Warsaw, for example, the latter have expressed interest in using Prolog material for the purpose of publishing an "encyclopedia" of the Ukrainian dissident movement and for increasing the flow of distribution into the Ukrainian target area. Arrangements have also been made for the placement of more Prolog material in Polish publications and journals. In addition, the Prolog group plans to send more travellers into Poland to initiate contacts with the Ukrainian minority, distribute additional literature inside the country and arrange for printing and copying equipment to be delivered into Poland in order to facilitate distribution of Prolog material into the UKSSR. The crackdown in Poland may slow this effort but it will be pursued.

17. In FY 82, the Prolog group plans to continue personal and mail contact with PRC representatives in Washington and Beijing. The results of these contacts during the beginning of this reporting period alone have been encouraging. As a result of his trip to the PRC in November 1981, for example, PDDYNAMIC/57 produced a comprehensive report dealing with the state of Soviet nationalities studies in the PRC and the attitude of Beijing toward non-Russian emigre groups, particularly Ukrainians. This reporting was provided to and coordinated with various components of East Asia Division as well as DDI Chinese analysts and has resulted in uncovering several PRC representatives who might be connected with the PRC I.S.

18. Finally, Prolog plans to expand their publication program to the extent that their budget will allow. They will continue publication of the monthly Ukrainian journal Suchasnist, the Information Bulletin, the Ukrainian Worker, and some 10 to 12 Ukrainian language books. In addition to regular publications, the group will increase their program of printing mini-editions of selected issues of Suchasnist as well as some pocket editions of their reprints, especially works dealing with Ukrainian partisan activities during World War II. These latter items have generated strong responses and have proven to be highly effective in Prolog's internal distribution program. Prolog also plans

SECRET

SUBJECT: FY 1982 Renewal of Activity PDDYNAMIC

to increase their output of Russian and Polish language publications and to publish a Czech language brochure on the situation in Ukraine for distribution into Czechoslovakia.

COSTS

20. It is requested that Operational Activity PDDYNAMIC be renewed for FY 1982 in the amount of [].

Source of Funds

Funds for PDDYNAMIC were included in the IAD/CAS Operational Program for FY 1982 in the amount of []. The FY 1983 Program will include [] for this Activity.

Budget

See attached breakdown.

Foreign Funds

No foreign currency problems.

Commitments

No additional commitments have been made to the PDDYNAMICS since the establishment of their pension plan.

Funding

In accordance with the approved Administrative Plan.

Accountability

All funds are accounted for in accordance with Agency regulations and the approved Administrative Plan.

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PDDYNAMIC BUDGET BREAKDOWN

FY 1982

<u>Cash Resources</u>	<u>FY 1981</u>	<u>FY 1982</u>	<u>FY 1983</u>
Beginning Cash Balance	1,000	3,000	5,000
Agency Subsidy	()	()	()
Book Sales & Subscriptions	80,000	85,000	89,000
Total Cash Available	()	()	()
Less Expenditures	503,000	548,000	590,000
Ending Cash Balance	()	()	()
<u>Expenditures</u>			
<u>Fixed Expenditures</u>			
<u>New York Office</u>			
Payroll and Benefits	\$162,000	\$173,000	\$182,000
Office Administration	40,000	42,000	47,000
Sub-total Fixed Expenses	\$202,000	\$215,000	\$229,000
<u>Operating Expenses</u>			
Publishing Costs	\$142,000	\$165,000	\$175,000
Purchase of Books and Periodicals	2,000	3,000	3,000
Distribution Costs	15,000	18,000	25,000
Affiliated Group-Munich	79,000	79,000	85,000
Research & Contact Operations	48,000	53,000	55,000
Operational Travel and Entertainment	15,000	15,000	18,000
Sub-total Operating Expenses	\$301,000	\$333,000	\$361,000
Total Expenditures	\$503,000	\$548,000	\$590,000

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